

Language contact and variation in Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe

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Abstract

Both Cape Verdean Portuguese (CVP) and Santomean Portuguese (STP) are in contact with Portuguese-related Creole languages formed during the 15th and 16th centuries: Capeverdean, in Cape Verde, and Santome, Angolar and Lung'Ie, in São Tomé and Príncipe. Despite this, Portuguese is the only official language of the two archipelagos.

The goal of this chapter is twofold. First, we aim to compare and discuss corpora data from CVP and STP underlining the impact of socio-historical factors in some morphosyntactic aspects of these Portuguese varieties' grammars. Second, we will show that the convergence and divergence observed is not only driven by the language contact situation but also by internal change mechanisms.

1. Introduction

Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe are two islands states near the west coast of Africa. Both are former Portuguese colonies which have Portuguese-related Creole languages formed during the 15th and 16th centuries: Capeverdean, in the former, and three Gulf of Guinea creoles, with a major role of Santome, in the latter. In spite of this, Portuguese was chosen as the only official language after their independence in 1975. These historical similarities sug-

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gest convergent language contact settings, as advocated by P. Gonçalves (2004/2009: 227, and to a certain extent 2013), according to whom two distinct zones can be recognized: ‘the bantu zone’ (Angola and Mozambique), and ‘the Creole zone’ (Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and São Tomé and Príncipe). However, we will show here that the language contact situation that characterizes these two post-colonial societies is very distinct and that the linguistic products can also be dissimilar.

Therefore, the phenomenon of language contact takes great significance here because the new Portuguesees that we are addressing – Cape Verdean Portuguese (CVP) and Santomean Portuguese (STP) – cannot be described and explained without taking into account the (more or less) closer relationship between different language systems.

In this Chapter, we will compare and discuss corpora data from CVP and STP focusing on the impact of socio-historical factors in their grammars. In order to achieve that, we will first present a short overview of the historical and sociolinguistic present situation in each island state (assuming, in a way, that language contact is a trigger to language variation and, eventually, change²). Second, we will focus on morphosyntactic aspects of CVP and STP showing that the convergence or divergence observed is not only driven by the language contact situation but also by internal change mechanisms.

This chapter is organized as follows. In section 2 we will refer the historical and sociolinguistic conditions of the two archipelagos until present; section 3 gives information on the data sources used here; section 4 focuses on two aspects of morphosyntax that operate in the same way in both national varieties of Portuguese (namely, nominal and verbal agreement and reflexive constructions); section 5 addresses two items of divergence between CVP and STP (specifically, object pronouns and relative clauses); and section 6 concludes this chapter.

² See among many others Winford (2005).

2. Historical and sociolinguistic overview³

2.1. *Cape Verde*

Shortly after the end of the 15th century, beginning of the 16th century, a contact language – a proto-Creole of Upper Guinea (Duarte 2003) – emerged in Cape Verde, from which Capeverdean came up⁴. Since Santiago island served as an important slave trade center, this creole was formed in a context of slavery and language contact between Portuguese and several African languages of the Niger-Congo linguistic family (especially those spoken in the macro-Sudan area – e.g. Mandinka, Bambara, Wolof, Fula). Actually, Carreira (1982:397) reports that, in 1582, 80% of the Cape Verdean population was slave and historical evidence reveals that Capeverdean was by and large the dominant language (given that Portuguese was poorly representative in Santiago, being restricted to a minority of Portuguese settlers and to the elite class). Peixeira (2003:68, n. 6) reinforces this by saying that Capeverdean was already spoken by African slaves of different ethnic groups about 90 years after the archipelago was found. He also claims that the language was used for trade and social relations in the Guinea-Bissau surroundings, which stresses the importance the language already had.

Moreover, Cape Verde specificities justify the prompt growth of Capeverdean. Seibert (2014:45) says that “the climate, insalubrity, lack of natural resources and distance from Portugal prevented the immigration of whites in considerable numbers”⁵. According to him, both Europeans and Af-

³ Since the historical and sociolinguistic facts of São Tomé and Príncipe are addressed by Hagemijer (this book), in this section we will concentrate mainly on Cape Verde, referring the reader to chapter XX whenever a comparison is needed.

⁴ Kriyol, in Guinea-Bissau as well as Casamance, and Papiamentu, in the Dutch Antilles, belong to this group as well.

⁵ Our translation.

ricans struggled to live there - the whites were around 3% of the population in the 18th and 19th centuries (Seibert 2014:57, table 2) - and the absence of white women led to miscegenation⁶. Notice that, since 1580, there were cyclical droughts followed by famines, which killed thousands of Capeverdeans. These facts had huge impact not only in the CV economy but also (and especially) in the CV society, inasmuch as in late 18th early 19th centuries Cape Verdeans started to migrate⁷. Such severe conditions helped shaping the Cape Verdean identity, which "plays a crucial role, especially in critical periods." (Tolentino 2007:270).

As a result, Capeverdean is one of the oldest and most studied creole languages in the world, the earliest descriptions dating back to the late 19th century.⁸

Actually, education was a fundamental thing in CV society: the first primary school was founded in Brava in 1847 and by the end of the 19th century there were 45 primary schools in the archipelago (Seibert 2014). In 1866, in S. Nicolau, the first secondary school opened (being transferred to S. Vicente in early 20th century), which facilitated the emergence of an intellectual elite.

Education, press, and migration were the most important factors to undermine the Portuguese colonial power and to reinforce the Cape Verdean identity.

⁶ As claimed by Seibert (2014: table 1 and 3), in 1546 there were already mestizos in the Portuguese administration and, in mid-18th century, the mestizos were already 30% of the population and in 1950 were near 70%.

⁷ First, they went to São Tomé and Príncipe islands (see chapter XX); then pointed to the U.S. (as free man) and afterwards to Europe, where they live now in massive communities (e.g. France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain). This allowed them to return to CV not only with money but especially with new political and administrative concepts.

⁸ For an anthology on Portuguese-based creoles, see Cardoso, Hagemeyer & Alexandre (2015). Readers interested in the first language samples and notes on the Capeverdean of the 19th century may consult the correspondence between António J. Ribeiro and Hugo Schuchardt (1881-1883) in Alexandre & Lang (2016).

Within the Portuguese dictatorial regime (*Estado Novo*, 1933-1974) the use of Capeverdean was proscribed, which strengthen the intellectual elite involved in the Cape Verdean literary movement *Claridade* (1936). This elite started to highlight the value of their creole language and culture, summoning for their own (and unique) identity. Their scripts gave Cape Verdeans the references they needed to build their identity as a people.

In the post-independence period, after 1975, Portuguese was chosen as the only official language and literacy continued to be considered an emblematic topic. As a matter of fact, all the governments since 1975 have chosen eradication of illiteracy as one of the basis of their educational policies: between the censuses of 1990 and 2000, illiteracy rates fell by about 12% (INECV 2001)⁹.

Meanwhile, Capeverdean was no longer repressed and in 1977, in the first national meeting of education technicians, and especially in 1979, in *I Colóquio Linguístico sobre o Crioulo de Cabo Verde* [First Linguistic Colloquium on the Cape Verdean Creole], its status and spelling system¹⁰ started to be discussed (Lopes 2011; Tolentino 2007, a.o.). Consequently, in 1992, the Constitution of the Republic of Cape Verde (amended in 1999) determines that Portuguese is the official language but Capeverdean is the mother tongue of all the citizens, encouraging the officialization of Capeverdean in par with Portuguese.

Nowadays, according to 2010 Census, there are no true monolinguals in CV: Capeverdean is the L1 of the majority of the population and Portuguese

⁹ In addition, the literacy rate in Cape Verde of the population aged 15-24 is 96.8% (Census 2010).

¹⁰ The ALUPEC (*Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita do Crioulo* / Unified Alphabet for the Creole Writing) was officially put to experience in 1998, by the Decree-Law DL-67/1998, and became official as ‘Alfabeto Caboverdiano’ (Capeverdean Alphabet) in 2009 (DL-8/2009).

is the L2 (typically acquired in classroom contexts, after the age of 6)¹¹. Many scholars argue that Cape Verdean identity is represented by Capeverdean and not (or rarely) by Portuguese, although this language is still the prestigious one in CV (Veiga 2004; Tolentino 2007; a.o.). Lopes (2011:113-114) shows that only 51.3% of the Cape Verdean speakers evaluate their own Portuguese proficiency as ‘sufficient’, which according to Lopes is related to the importance these speakers devote to Portuguese and how they reproach themselves. She also suggests that Cape Verdean society lives a kind of ‘modal diglossia’ (pp. 116), since 90% of the young people she interviewed prefer to speak in Capeverdean and only 5% in Portuguese, whilst 80% would rather read and write in Portuguese (only 7% would do it in Capeverdean).

Ultimately, we assume that, considering this language contact setting between Portuguese and Capeverdean, the country presents a rather stable linguistic condition that results both from the history of the colonization of the country, and post-independence language policies.

2.2. São Tomé and Príncipe

As in the case of Cape Verde, until the second half of the 19th century, the Creoles were the most widespread languages in the archipelago. Just a very small part of the population spoke Portuguese, mostly as L2. However, with the so-called second colonization of São Tomé and Príncipe (1875-1975) a massive number of indentured laborers came from Angola, Cape Verde and, to a lesser extent, Mozambique, to work on the coffee and cacao plantations. As a result, the population doubled. These newcomers started to learn Portuguese

¹¹ In a study conducted with children from 6 to 9 years old at elementary school in Praia, Santiago, Monteiro (2009) reports that freshman students could not read in Portuguese; only few sophomore students could do it; and that Capeverdean was used by 100% of the students in the playground.

as their L2, the dominant language of the planters, instead of Creoles. Consequently, the use of Portuguese gradually started to become more common while the use of local languages started to decline. This situation sharply contrasts with Cape Verde's where a Cape Verdean identity clearly emerges in the same period.

In addition, during the colonialism period, creole languages were repressed, as in Cape Verde. However, different from what happened in those islands, in São Tomé and Príncipe, just a small part of the population had access to education in Portuguese. Notice that, according to Hagemeijer (this volume), the first national secondary school only opened in the 1960s, a century after the *Liceu de São Nicolau* in Cape Verde.

Since the education in Portuguese was restricted to the intellectual elite, parents promoted the acquisition of Portuguese by their children as an L1, encouraging the progress of their integration into society, despite the fact that they themselves had learned it as an L2.

Furthermore, after the independence of the archipelago in 1975, Portuguese became the official language which expanded its use across the whole community irrespective of social class (e.g. Hagemeijer 2009; Gonçalves & Hagemeijer 2015; R. Gonçalves 2016). As a result, a gradual increase of the local creoles' attrition was observed, a common process in language contact settings (e.g. Winford 2003). In spite of being limited, the contact with local creoles was still guaranteed by elderly people who continue to speak them. However, people from the city and under the age of 30 often mention that the first language they learned and spoke was Portuguese.

Nowadays, according to 2012 Census, Portuguese is clearly the L1 of the majority of the population (98.4%) while only around 30% of the population speaks Santome. Curiously, due to the lower number of contract workers

remittances', Capeverdean is the third language of the archipelago.¹² In fact, as Seibert (2006: 157) referred, after the independence, “[w]hile most Angolan and Mozambican contract workers had (...) returned to their home countries, the (...) Cape Verdeans remained in São Tomé. Their poor and drought stricken country was not eager to receive so many returnees, while the Santomean government recognized their importance for the plantation economy and encouraged them to stay.”

In short, the independence of the islands from Portugal in 1975 led to a progressively more widespread acquisition of Portuguese as a native language from its long-standing acquisition as an L2. In contrast, the local creoles are now endangered languages to different extents. This process of language shift and the consequent nativization of the former colonial language are reflected in the features of STP, which is mainly characterized by the variation between the structure(s) of the target language and divergent structures.¹³

3. Data sources

The investigation carried out about CVP and STP has been supported by both oral and written corpora collected and organized by researchers under the scope of their Master and PhD dissertations. Moreover, we will use data from the Center of Linguistics of the University of Lisbon (CLUL) that has developed two research projects on African varieties of Portuguese that we will briefly describe.

CORPUS AFRICA aimed to collect comparable subcorpora with both written and oral data from the five former Portuguese colonies where Portu-

¹² In Príncipe island, for instance, the number of Cape Verdean speakers is even higher than those of Lung’Ie, the native creole (e.g. Gonçalves 2016).

¹³ See Hagemeyer (this volume) for a detailed analysis of the linguistic situation of São Tomé and Príncipe.

guese is the official language (Bacelar do Nascimento *et al.* 2008).¹⁴ This corpus comprises circa 610.000 tokens of written data and 25.000 tokens of oral data, by variety. The data from CVP we will present in this Chapter comes mainly from this corpus and from Freitas (2011) and Lopes (2011), two PhD dissertations based on a large amount of written and oral data collection¹⁵.

On the other hand, the VAPOR project, ongoing since 2008, aims to collect and organize exclusively oral data.¹⁶ The data from STP we will analyze here are mostly from the STP corpus collected within this project, which is the higher collected so far. The transcribed and revised data consists in interviews with more than 65 participants aged between 18 and 71, with different levels of education (ranging from elementary school to the university) from the city of São Tomé and its peripheral areas. All informants declared themselves L1 Portuguese speakers, since they mention it as the first language they have learned. Moreover, when asked about Santome Creole, they stress their passive use of this language: they do not usually speak it, but they can understand (some of) it. Therefore, the corpus represents a sample of the current semi-spontaneous urban STP spoken as an L1.

¹⁴ See

http://www.clul.ul.pt/english/sectores/linguistica_de_corpus/projecto_variedades_africanas.php

¹⁵ For the purposes of this Chapter, we only considered part of the data available in these studies. Hence, Freitas' (2011) corpus comprises seventeen interviews of Cape Verdean teachers of Portuguese (five of them school leaders) and forty written texts of students from the 8th grade in São Vicente island. Lopes' (2011) corpus contains twenty-nine interviews of adult speakers over 28 years of age, divided in fourteen interviews by teachers of Portuguese and fifteen by 'Cape Verdean leaders' (artists, doctors, intellectuals, journalists, lawyers, and politicians). All the subjects of the two corpora declared to be L1 Capeverdean and (non-L1) Portuguese speakers.

¹⁶ Further information on the project can be found in <http://www.clul.ul.pt/pt/investigacao/184-vapor-african-varieties-of-portuguese>.

4. Morphosyntactic convergence

4.1. Nominal and verbal agreement

Nominal and verbal agreement are mandatory processes in European Portuguese (EP). Specifically, within the nominal domain, both the number and the gender features the noun is specified for control the number marking of the items it relates to (e.g. determiners, adjectives), as in (1). Inside the sentence domain, the subject noun has the same power over the number feature of the verb (2).

- (1) O João comprou **umas camisas brancas.**
DET.pl shirt.pl white.pl
‘John bought some white shirts.’

- (2) As **crianças brincam** no parque.
DET.pl child.pl play.pl
‘Children play in the park.’

On the other hand, Capeverdean and Santome creoles do not apply this agreement mechanism in the same way. According to Alexandre (2009) for Capeverdean, and Alexandre & Hagemeyer (2007) for Santome, these languages do not exhibit overt plural markers suffixed to the noun (3) and verbs are not specified for person and number (4).

- (3) a. **Uns/Kes omi** di Gubernu kontrata-m.
a/the.pl man.sg of Government hire-1sg
‘Some/The men of the Government hired me.’

(Capeverdean, Alexandre 2009:67)

- b. Ola ku mina be, mina da ku **inen mosu**.
 when that girl go girl give with the.pl boy
 ‘When the girl left, she ran into the boys.’

(Santome, Alexandre & Hagemeijer 2007:40)

- (4) **N/Es kume** pexe.
 1sg/3pl eat fish
 ‘I/They ate fish.’

4.1.1. Cape Verde

Inconsistent nominal (number and gender) and verbal agreement in CVP (5)-(6) has been reported in several papers (Jon-And 2011; Lopes 2011, a.o.).

- (5) a. Regressam a 2 de Maio a **suas casa**, aos seus afazeres.
 their.pl house.sg
 (Corpus Africa, J1081P1306X)

- b. ...na altura em que **um criança** começa a falar...
 a.MASC child.FEM
 (Freitas 2011:739, Appendix I, PM)

- (6) a. ...se **dois homens tem** muita sabedoria e um diz que sim...
 two man.pl have.sg
 (Corpus Africa, L0507)

b. ...fico a perguntar sozinha como **as coisas desagradá-
veis**

the.pl thing.pl unpleasant.pl

e terrível acontece na minha juventude...

and terrible.sg happen.sg

(Freitas 2011: 919, Appendix III, TX16)

Nevertheless, only in Jon-And (2011) we find an in-depth study of nominal agreement. The author analyzes 2359 tokens of CVP nominal number agreement, and concludes that the post-nominal position disfavors number agreement, which is similar to the behavior of other (African and Brazilian) varieties of Portuguese¹⁷, and that literacy is a strong variable. Overall, Jon-And (2011:144) assumes that this property of CVP is not only dependent on language contact (with Capeverdean), but also an effect of universal language change.

Concerning verbal agreement, Lopes (2011:468) shows that 59 out of 181.512 words from the oral corpus and 6 out of 6.866 words from her written corpus do not exhibit subject-verb agreement. According to her, the linguistic variables responsible for this are the nature of the subject (namely, complex overt subjects, as in (6b) above); (post-verbal) subject position (7); (more) distance from the subject (8); phonetic saliency (especially with the difference in *ter* ‘have’ between 3rd person singular and plural) (9); and syntactic parallelism.

¹⁷ This is an interesting observation since CVP data show that a bantu influence cannot be a possible explanation for this and that it is likely the output of a more general process (see further Jon-And 2011:125-127).

(7) a. ... **usa** português **as** **pessoas** que têm conhecimento...

use.sg the.pl people.pl

Lopes (2011:486, Inf18)

b. É claro que **existe** **professores** que...

exist.sg teacher.pl

(Freitas 2011:764, Appendix I, PQ)

(8) ...coisas que **os** **portugueses** se calhar nos **trouxe** foi...

the.pl portuguese.pl bring.sg

Lopes (2011:472, Inf21)

(9) a. ...há **pessoas** que (...) continuam a falar crioulo - e [] **têm**

people.pl have.pl

toda a satisfação em falar quando [] **tem** essa oportunidade...

have.sg

Lopes (2011:477, Inf14)

b. ...que **os** **alunos** **tem** em casa

the.pl student.pl have.sg

(Freitas 2011:765, Appendix I, PQ)

Probably because of the low percentage of these data¹⁸, Lopes (2011:489) argues that CVP behaves in a way very similar to EP.

¹⁸ Specifically, 0.032% in the oral corpus and 0.087% in the written corpus.

4.1.2. *São Tomé and Príncipe*

The lack of nominal and verbal agreement has also been a matter of interest in STP. Brandão (2011, 2013, 2015), Brandão & Vieira (2012) and Vieira & Bazenga (2013) discussed the factors associated to this phenomenon in this variety (comparing it with Brazilian and European varieties of Portuguese).

The authors concluded that the plural agreement within the Noun Phrase (NP) is controlled by both linguistic and non-linguistic variables. On the one hand, the position of nucleus inside the NP, in the case of nominal agreement, as well as the animacy or the position of the subject in relation to the verb, in the case of verb agreement, strongly determines the (lack) of nominal and verbal agreement. On the other hand, non-linguistic variables, such as the level of education, also seem to play an important role.

As pointed out by Brandão (2013:62), “the first pre-nuclear position is the more productive” in the plural agreement in Santomean Portuguese. Therefore, typically, the lack of nominal agreement is observed in the nucleus of the NP, as well as in the elements that occur right after it. This means that the plural marking mainly occurs in articles (definite or indefinite), demonstratives, possessive pronouns as well as numerals or quantifiers that precede the Noun (pre-nuclear position) (10a-d), although it is cancelled in the Noun or in the Adjective (nuclear and post-nuclear position) (10e-f).

- (10) a. Pego nas **minhas** **ferramenta**...
the.pl my.pl tool.sg
- b. **Naqueles** **tempo** era diferente...
in those.pl time.sg
- c. Se conseguisse ter pelo menos **umas três** **fábrica** em S.T...
three.pl factory.sg
- d. Aqui tem **muitas** **cabra**...
many.pl goat.pl

- e. **As condições financeira** não permitia prosseguir...
 the.pl condition.pl financial.sg
- f. ... os hábitos **das pessoas mais velha**...
 of.the.pl people.pl more older.sg
- (all from Brandão 2013:64-66)

Based on these results, Brandão (2013, 2015) proposed that there is a *continuum* of plurality marking on prototypical NPs, i.e. pre-nuclear constituent(s) > a nuclear constituent (>a post-nuclear constituent). Pre-nucleus tends to be marked, while the use of a plural mark will gradually decrease from the nucleus to the post-nucleus. Moreover, according to this author, “the behavior of the constituents for the presence of plural mark (...) appears to be an inherent tendency, a kind of universalizing characteristic of Portuguese varieties, because, in greater or lesser extent, it is found in all the varieties where there is determined external conditions for variation” (Brandão 2013:69-70).

Concerning verb agreement, the results of Brandão & Vieira (2012) and Vieira & Bazenga (2013) show that there is a clear tendency in STP to lack verbal agreement when the difference between the singular and plural form is minor, as is the case of regular verbs in the present tense (i.e. 3SG *respeita/acaba* > 3PL *respeitam/acabam*; 3SG *aparece* > 3PL *aparecem*) (11a-b). However, variables such as animacy of the subject as well as the position of the subject in relation to the verb are also relevant, in the sense that the mark of 3rd person plural is mostly omitted with inanimate subjects and/or when the subject occurs after the verb (11c-d).

- (11) a. Os bandido **aparece**.
 the.pl outlaw.sg appear.3sg
- b. Os rapazes não **respeita** os pais.
 the.pl boys.pl not respect.3sg

(Corpus VAPOR)

- c. As dificuldades não **acaba**.
 the.pl difficulties.pl not finish.3sg
- d. **Aparece** algumas oportunidades.
 appear.3sg some opportunities.pl

(both from Brandão & Vieira 2012: 64-66)

Further, we must also consider that the (lack of) nominal and verbal agreement is not independent of the non-linguistic variables. In fact, as occurs with other structures from STP we will discuss later, the agreement marking increases gradually from the lowest to the highest level of education. This *continuum* of marking the plural is even more evident in the case of verbal agreement (Brandão & Vieira 2012: 22). It should be noted, however, that despite the lack of nominal and verbal agreement being attested in the corpus, these phenomena are quite restricted (fewer than 7% of occurrences of the *corpus* analyzed).

4.2. Reflexive constructions

In EP reflexive constructions, the clitic pronoun *se* ‘SELF’ is typically a direct or indirect object of the verb; is co-referent with the subject (12); and it can be supplemented by adjectives like *próprio/mesmo* ‘him/herself’ (Duarte 2013).

- (12) A Joana_i viu-**se**_i (a si **própria**) ao espelho.
 the Joana saw-SELF herself at.the mirror
 ‘Joana saw herself in the mirror.’

Notice, however, that there is a subclass of verbs (namely, those implying change in body posture) that cannot co-occur with *próprio/mesmo* and for this reason yield pseudo-reflexive constructions (13).

- (13) A Ana deitou-se (*a si **própria**)
 the Ana lay.down-SELF herself
 (para descansar uns minutos).
 (to rest for a few minutes)

(Duarte 2013:449)

According to Pratas (2014) and Hagemeijer (2007), many reflexive constructions in Capeverdean and Santome do not show any overt reflexive marker, such as transitive verbs like *pentia* ‘comb’ and *kenta* ‘warm’ in (14).

- (14) a. Irina **pentia** Ø.

Irina comb

‘Irina has combed herself.’

(Capeverdean, Pratas 2014:234)

- b. N ga ba **kenta** Ø.

1sg ASP go warm

‘I am going to warm myself.’

(Santome, Hagemeijer 2007:40)

Notwithstanding this, a small set of verbs allow for the use of body parts as *kabesa* ‘head’ or *ubwê* ‘body’ as reflexive markers.

- (15) a. No(s) ta trata no(s) **kabesa**.

1pl ASP treat POSS head

‘We take care of ourselves.’

(Capeverdean, Baptista 2002:55)

- b. N da **ubwê** mu ku faka.

1sg give body POSS with knife

‘I cut myself with a knife.’

(Santome, Hagemeijer 2007:41)

4.2.1. Cape Verde

Reflexive constructions are another unstable topic in CVP. Two distinct constructions are detected in our corpora: (i) a more common type that deletes (or does not select for) *se* (16), whilst the reflexive reading is preserved; and (ii) insertion of *se* (17).

- (16) a. O meu maior objectivo é **formar** Ø_[-me] para poder...
graduate.1sg
(Corpus Africa, V4171)

- b. ...geralmente **baseamos** Ø_[-nos] no português...
base.1pl ourselves
(Lopes 2011:40, Appendix 7, Inf3)

- c. Eu **levantei** Ø_[-me] com boa disposição, fiz...
get up.1sg
(Freitas 2011:910, Appendix III, TX7)

- d. ...depois, meu filho é, é, apareceu, eu **esforcei** Ø_[-me], arran-
jei...
make an effort.1sg
(Corpus VAPOR)

- (17) ...o pessoal, às vezes a gente não... não **se** **convive** muito
bem.
SELF get along with
(Corpus VAPOR)

Note that all the sentences in (16) involve verbs that belong to the subclass of verbs that form pseudo-reflexive constructions in EP, entailing change of con-

dition (not only of body posture). On the other hand, the insertion of *se* in (17) seems to be the expression of hypercorrection (presumably because some speakers are conscious of a generalized *se* omission).

4.2.2. *São Tomé and Príncipe*

Also in STP, with many verbs that are (pseudo-)reflexive, the clitic pronoun does not occur (18). However, as pointed out by Mendes & Estrela (2008:88), “even without the presence of a pronoun marking the co-reference between subject and direct object, the structure is still understood as having a reflexive reading (...), essentially due to the previous contexts leading the listener to presume that the speaker is also the Affected direct object”.

- (18) a. Nós viemos **inscrever** Ø_[-nos]. Depois de um mês...
came.1pl enroll
- b. **Matriculei** Ø_[-me] na escola técnica.
enrolled.1sg
- c. **Sentimos** Ø_[-nos] preocupado com essa situação.
felt.1pl

(Corpus VAPOR)

Based on data from ‘Corpus Africa’, Mendes & Estrela (2008:89-90) refer that, in African varieties of Portuguese, “the most frequent cases of absence of clitic are verbal predicates which are intrinsically pronominal in EP. (...) These predicates denote intellectual or cognitive experiences (19), and body movement (20) and belong to the sub-class of pseudo-reflexives constructions in EP.

- (19) a. Nós não Ø_[nos] **dedicamos** assim muito à nossa língua.
commit.1pl

b. As pessoas estão a **esquecer** $\emptyset_{[-se]}$ da nossa língua.

forget.3pl

(Mendes & Estrela 2008:89-90)

(20) a. Sempre vivi em São Tomé, mas **desloquei** $\emptyset_{[-me]}$ algumas
vezes

move around.1sg

para fora.

b. A gente **senta** $\emptyset_{[-se]}$ lá, bebe uma cerveja.

sit down.3sg

(Mendes & Estrela 2008:89-90)

As in CVP, the insertion of *se* is also observed in STP. There are occurrences where this clitic pronoun is added to a verbal predicate in constructions where it would not be realized in EP (21).

(21) a. Ele não foi capaz de me ajudar (...) e eu **desanimei-me**.

discourage.1sg

b. Tinha a minha namorada e ela **engravidou-se**.

get pregnant.3sg

c. Depois o meu bisavô **viajou-se**.

travel.3sg

(Corpus VAPOR)

In sum, CVP and STP seem to be moving away from Portuguese and going in the same direction w.r.t. nominal and verbal agreement and reflexive constructions: both mark (plural) number just in the first element of the nominal domain and overlook verbal agreement when some conditions are met. Both reflexive pronoun *se* omission and insertion is pervasive as well.

5. Morphosyntactic divergence

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Both in Capeverdean and Santome, object pronouns display the same form irrespectively of the Case assignment to the object and they are syntactically static (see Alexandre 2009:40, table 3, for Capeverdean, and Hagemeijer 2007:38, table 7, for Santome):

- (23) El da-I es.
 3sg give-3sg 3pl
 ‘He gave her them.’

(adapted from Alexandre 2009:41)

- (24) Bô da mu êlê.
 2sg give 1sg 3sg
 ‘You gave it to me.’

(adapted from Hagemeijer 2007:39)

5.1.1. Cape Verde

In CVP the use of clitic pronouns also show the inconstancy of the system by displaying a relatively ordinary replacement of *lhe(s)* by the preposition *para* ‘to’ followed by a nonclitic/strong 3rd person pronoun *ele(s)/ela(s)* (25).

- (25) a. ...eu nem, nem **liguei** **para ele**_[lhe], porque o ca-
 lor...

pay attention.1sg to him

(Corpus VAPOR)

- b. ...os peixes ruins **berrando** **para ele**_[lhe]...
 scream.3sg at them

(Corpus Africa, L0507)

c. eu **perguntei para eles**_[lhes] – “que zona de Santiago vocês são?”

ask.1sg to them

(Lopes 2011:179, Appendix 7, Inf11)

The use of dative *lhe(s)* instead of accusative *-o(s)/a(s)* and vice versa occur in our data as well (26)-(27), but these are very residual.

(26) a. ...se eu for **lhe**_[a] **encontrar** na sala...

her find

(Lopes 2011:375, Appendix 7, Inf23)

b. ...havia lá um porteiro que era..., que **lhes**_[os] **conhecia** e...

knew.3sg them

(Corpus VAPOR)

(27) O lugar escolhido para a sua implementação, **permite-a**_[-lhe] (...)

allows.3sg it

ser o ponto...

(Corpus Africa, V3579)

Additionally, the corpora surveyed returned us just one instance of a strong 3rd person pronoun in the position of the accusative clitic *o* ‘it’:

(28) Jó morreu, nhô Isé **enterrou ele** esta tardezinha na ilharga da casa.

bury.3sg him

(Corpus Africa, L0503)

Considering that the utterance in (28) comes from the literary work *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste* (1960), by Manuel Lopes²⁰, it was designed to represent the mixing between Portuguese and Capeverdean. It is, thereby, a clear case of language contact, but it does not depict CVP object pronouns properties.

5.1.2. *São Tomé and Príncipe*

Unlike Cape Verdean Portuguese, Santomean Portuguese exhibits different strategies to express the 3rd person of pronominal objects (R. Gonçalves 2009, 2013, 2016).

Data from the corpus show that the variation in expressing the direct object is mainly observed in the concurrence of a strong 3rd person pronoun and an accusative clitic (29)-(30). The use of the clitic *lhe(s)* in that context is less observed (31).

(29) a. Toda a gente sabe que o político tem esse lado que **o** **caracteriza**.

‘Everyone knows that the politician has this side that characterizes **him**.’

b. A minha mãe já faleceu, nem conheci-**a**.

‘My mother already passed away. I even did not know **her**.’

²⁰ This Cape Verdean writer was one of the founders of *Claridade* (see section 2.1 above), whose linguistic imprint was the insertion of Capeverdean words and constructions in Portuguese texts, such as *nhô* ‘Mister’ and *enterrou ele* (< *ntera el*) ‘bury him’ in (28) in the text.

- (30) a. Eu falo **ele**, mas (...) é difícil para eu falar essa língua de São Tomé.
 ‘I speak **him**, but it is difficult to me to speak this language of São Tomé.’
- b. A cobra veio (...). Ele depois disse: se você não atacar **ela**, ela não ataca você.
 ‘The snake came (...). Then he said: if you do not attack **her**, she does not attack you.’
- (31) a. A ideia era defender tese voltado à linguística. (...) E eu auxiliiei-**lhe** a recolher elementos para tal.
 ‘The idea was to defend thesis on linguistics. (...) And I helped **him** gathering elements for it.’
- b. A minha maneira de conversar levou-**lhes** a ter uma disciplina muito importante.
 ‘My way of speaking led **them** to have a very important discipline.’

(all from R. Gonçalves 2013)

Regarding the indirect object, the dative clitic (32) is preferred over the strong 3rd person pronoun (33). Note also that the double object constructions in (33) are preferred over the ditransitive prepositional constructions in (34). Moreover, no difference is observed between the use of *a* or *para* ‘to, toward’.²¹

²¹ The variation between strategies to express the indirect object is also observed with full NPs. In fact, as extensively discussed in R. Gonçalves (2016), STP exhibits double object constructions as well as ditransitive prepositional constructions, which employ either the

(32) a. Eu pedi-**lhe** que me levasse para o mercado.

‘I asked him to take me to the market.’

b. O marido não está-**lhe** a dar todas as soluções adequada.

‘The husband is not giving him all the appropriate solutions.’

(33) a. Dou **ela** uns cinco contos.

‘I give her five thousand dobras (STP money).’

b. Ele tem que esforçar para dar **ele** estudo.

‘He needs to make an effort to give him an education.’

(34) a. Sempre digo **a eles** que é para esforçar.

‘I always tell them to make an effort.’

b. [Ele] vende **para ela**, ela volta a revender.

‘He sells [it] to her, she resells it.’

(all from R. Gonçalves 2016)

As pointed out in R. Gonçalves (2016), the use of these strategies depends on linguistic and non-linguistic variables. On the one hand, the type of verb involved as well as the animacy play a role. On the other hand, there is a relation between the strategy/strategies used and the informants’ level of education. Informants with a lower level of education mainly produce strong 3rd person pronouns instead of dative clitics (33), while informants with higher levels of education exhibit the clitic pronouns *lhe/lhes* (32) and/or the strong 3rd person pronouns introduced either by the preposition *a* ‘to’ or *para* ‘toward’ (34).

preposition *a* ‘to’ or the preposition *para* ‘toward’. Dative passives do not occur in the STP corpus we analyzed.

5.2. Relative clauses

The mechanisms of extraction of constituents in syntactic structures involving the left periphery of the sentence, namely in relative clauses, have also been under investigation among the African varieties of Portuguese, in particular in CVP and STP (e.g. Alexandre, Gonçalves & Hagemeijer 2011, henceforth AGH; Alexandre & Hagemeijer 2013; R. Gonçalves 2015, 2016).

We must emphasize that relative clauses are a sensitive module of EP in so far as the language shows noncanonical strategies especially productive in oral speech (i.e. preposition chopping and resumption - (35)) that swap with canonical strategies involving gaps or preposition pied-piping (36).

- (35) a. ...nós temos aqui uma pessoa **que**_[com quem] já tentámos falar hoje à tarde.

‘We have here a person that we’ve already tried to talk to this afternoon.’

(adapted from Alexandre 2000:173)

- b. Há técnicos_i muito bons **que** as pessoas não sabem o nome **deles**_i.

‘There are very good technicians whose name the people don’t know.’

(adapted from Alexandre 2000:58)

- (36) a. O livro_i que tu compraste ___i é interessante.

‘The book you bought is interesting.’

- b. A aluno **com quem**_i falei ___i é músico.

‘The student I talked to is a musician.’

In addition, Capeverdean and Santome make use of all the above strategies, except for preposition pied-piping (Alexandre & Hagemeijer 2002), and present an extra one that Alexandre (2009) called ‘defective copy’²² (37).

- (37) a. Djon atxa **kes** **mudjeris**_i ki Zé papia ku-**el**_i.
 Djon find the women that Zé talk with-3sg
 ‘Djon found the women that Zé talked to.’
 (Capeverdean, Alexandre 2009:152)

- b. **Inen mwala** **se**_i ku n fla ku **ê**_i.
 3pl woman DEM that 1sg talk with 3sg
 ‘These women that I talked to.’
 (Santome, adapted from Alexandre & Hagemeijer 2002:19)

5.2.1. Cape Verde

Besides the canonical strategies like those involving preposition pied-piping (38), CVP displays noncanonical relativization processes such as P-chopping (39) and resumption (40). Observe yet that not a single occurrence of defective copy relative clauses showed up in our CVP corpora.

- (38) Um mestre desconhecido, mesmo por aqueles **com quem** partilhou longas horas de trabalho.
 ‘An unknown master, even by those he shared long hours of work with.’
 (Corpus Africa, J10689)

²² See Alexandre (2009, 2012) to learn about the distinction between resumption and defective copying.

(39) a. ...há alguns professores Ø_[com] **que** sempre nós tínhamos o hábito de falar o português.

‘There are some teachers that we always talked to in Portuguese.’

(Lopes 2011:459, Appendix 7, Inf28)

b. O dia Ø_[em] **que** eu quebrei o meu lente eu estava desesperada...

‘The day I broke my glasses I was desolated...’

(Freitas 2011:917, Appendix III, TX14)

(40) És um **homem que** não se ia confia **nele**.

‘You are a man no one would rely on.’

(adapted from AGH 2011:23)

However, of the noncanonical strategies P-chopping is the dominant strategy, as in EP²³. Notice further that the prepositions chopped in relatives are not deleted in matrix clauses (41), which is a distinct point from STP (see next section).

(41) ...**no dia** do seu casamento, o marido tem de provar publicamente...

in.the day of.the his marriage the husband have of prove publicly

‘In the day of his marriage, the husband has to prove in public...’

(Corpus Africa, V4562)

²³ See Duarte (2011) for an analysis of these constructions in EP comparing oral versus written speeches and education level.

5.2.2. *São Tomé and Príncipe*

In turn, STP exhibits four relativization strategies: (i) pied-piping (42); (ii) P-chopping (43); (iii) resumption (44); and (iv) defective copy (45), but, as pointed out before, only the first is the canonical according to the target variety: EP. Data from the corpus show that the P-chopping strategy is the dominant one, while the resumptive and defective copy strategies occur at a minor extent (AGH 2011).

(42) Há palestras **em que** as mulheres podem participar.

‘There are lectures that women can take part in.’

(adapted from R. Gonçalves 2015: 339)

(43) a. Isto é que é a conclusão $\emptyset_{[a]}$ **que** se chegou.

‘This is the conclusion that was reached.’

b. Santa Catarina também é uma região ali do norte $\emptyset_{[a]}$ **que** eu nunca fui.

‘S. C. is also a northern region where I never went to.’

(adapted from AGH 2011: 25)

c. Há momento $\emptyset_{[em]}$ **que** aluno assiste a aula de pé.

‘There are moments in which the students attend classes standing.’

(adapted from R. Gonçalves 2010:131)

(44) Eu nunca tive assim **bisavós ou avós_i** que eu tivesse vivido **com eles_i** ...

‘I never had great-grandparents or grandparents with whom I lived...’

(adapted from AGH 2011:23)

(45) a. Praia_i **que** é onde os pescadores vivem **nele**_i.

beach that be where the fishermen live in.it

‘The beach where the fishermen live.’

b. A moça_i **que** eu vivo **com ele**_i (...) nesse momento ela não trabalha.

the girl that 1sg live with him in.this moment 3sg not work

‘The girl that I live with doesn’t work now.’

(adapted from R. Gonçalves 2015: 339)

In her study on the acquisition of pied-piping and preposition stranding in English L2, Klein (1993, 2001) showed that the (lack of) knowledge of both subcategorization properties of the verbs can determine the relative strategy used. Following this idea, R. Gonçalves (2010) proposed that the occurrence of P-chopping as a dominant strategy in STP is related to the restructuring of the argument structure of verbs (46). Consequently, in AGH (2011), this type of occurrences was (carefully) classified as ‘pseudo-chopping’, once they are not equivalent to those that occur in EP. In fact, cases like those in (43) exhibit chopping of the preposition only from the perspective of the target grammar (EP). However, if both occurrences (43) above and (46) are produced by the same informant, as attested in the corpus, we take it as an argument supporting that no true P-chopping is involved.

(46) a. Quando **chego** Ø_[a] **casa** é dezassete e trinta.

when arrive.1sg home be seventeen and thirty

‘When I arrive home is 5:30 p.m.’

b. O ano passado aqui também **fui** Ø_[a] **Neves**.

the year last here also go.1sg Neves

‘Last year I also went to Neves.’

- c. Só **ajuda** Ø_[no] momento de estar perto da mãe.
 only helps [in.the] moment of be near to.the mother
 ‘He only helps when he is near the mother.’

(all adapted from R. Gonçalves 2010: 131)

Again, the variation exhibited by STP in the relativization strategies is not only related to both restructuring of the argument structure of verbs and loss of prepositions that introduce adjuncts, but it is also connected to the nonlinguistic variable ‘education level’. In fact, while (pseudo-)chopping is used irrespective the level of education, corpus data show that resumptive and defective copy are restricted to lower educated people. These data confirm the tendency observed by Brandão (2011, 2013, 2015) and Brandão & Vieira (2012), for the nominal and verbal agreement. Further evidence of the effect of schooling on the relativization mechanisms is still provided by the fact that, in a production elicitation task, both resumptive and defective copy have not been used by academic students (R. Gonçalves 2015).

Summing up, language contact cannot explain the variation exhibited by CVP and STP in the domain of relative clauses, otherwise both varieties would exhibit resumptive and defective strategies. In fact, relative clauses seem to follow a more general pattern of (internal) language change, probably related to the relative pronouns system and to functional prepositions (like *a* ‘to’ and *de* ‘of’).

6. Concluding remarks

Based on the data examined here, the proposal of P. Gonçalves (2004/2009) of a ‘Bantu zone’ and a ‘Creole zone’, as discussed in the introduction of this chapter, cannot be sustained.

Cape Verde is becoming a bilingual state as a fruit of long lasting language policies involving both Portuguese and (more recently) Capeverdean. Portuguese, although spoken as L2 in Cape Verde, is still a prestigious language which proficiency grants the access to higher education and to intellectual elite.

São Tomé and Príncipe, on the other hand, is now a country with a nativized variety of L1 Portuguese that reveals more divergences towards the target grammar than CVP (namely, agreement processes, reflexive pronouns demotion, replacement of dative clitic by a strong pronoun, pseudo-chopping and defective relative clauses). The shape of STP grammar is the product of an impoverished school system and educational planning that didn't (and still don't) value enough the education benefits. But if there is a positive correlation between education level and separation from the target grammar is yet to be thoroughly established.

Regardless of this, CVP and STP show sectors of convergence (particularly, nominal and verbal agreement and reflexive constructions) that are the reflexion of some more general (universal) mechanisms, tendencies also observed in and reported for other varieties of Portuguese.

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